

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 23

Monday, June 4, 1962

Price 10c

Pressure Mounting For 35-Hour Week

By Fred Halstead

AFL-CIO president George Meany's statement May 25 that the labor federation's executive board would discuss a "national campaign" to cut the standard work week from 40 to 35 hours with no reduction in pay — as a measure against unemployment — is a symptom of the mounting pressure which union tops are feeling from the ranks.

Meany's statement, made to the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was quickly countered by Walter Heller, chairman of President John F. Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisors. Heller said May 26 that the administration's goal was full employment with a 40-hour standard week, and that if only enough Democrats can be elected to congress this fall, Kennedy's program will be put into effect. Heller said the shorter work week is not appropriate now because it would increase costs for the employers.

The fact is that short of huge new opportunities for expansion — excluded by present world conditions without a major war — Kennedy's program can't possibly solve the unemployment problem on the basis of the 40-hour week. He opposes the shorter-work-week solution because that would tend to cut into profits. For Kennedy, and the wealthy businessmen he



Meany

represents, if unemployment can't be solved without cutting profits, then it won't be solved.

The problem facing the AFL-CIO tops is that they are committed to support of Kennedy, but the administration cannot solve the unemployment problem on its terms short of war. As the problem is more acutely felt by the rank and file of labor, the AFL-CIO leaders meet this contradiction by raising the shorter-work-week demand in words — to satisfy the ranks — but retreat when it comes to actual bargaining with the corporations — to satisfy Kennedy.

This game won't work indefinitely, but Meany has been playing it for some time. The AFL-CIO convention last December unanimously passed a resolution urging affiliates to press for shorter hours without any reduction in pay as a solution to unemployment. When the New York City construction electricians put that program into effect, however, Meany made no supporting statements.

Indeed, when the electricians won the 25-hour week after a short strike, high AFL-CIO officials in Washington—who avoided being quoted by name — were

(Continued on Page 3)

Michigan Students Fight Speaker Ban

By Marilyn Levin

DETROIT — Students at Wayne State University here and at Michigan State University in East Lansing came into conflict with officials last week over the right of campus clubs to sponsor meetings for speakers of their choice.

At WSU, permission for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, outspoken fighters for the abolition of HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee), to speak on campus was rescinded by university President Hilberry just prior to a meeting on May 22.

Earlier the Civil Liberties Club, sponsor of the meeting, had received the approval of the University Student Forum Committee. The USFC, a three-man board set up to pass on qualifications of invited speakers, had granted a permit on the condition that a "competent" faculty member would comment on the speeches afterwards.

Despite the last-minute cancellation, members of the Civil Liberties Club were able to arrange an off-campus meeting in a nearby church. Seventy students came to hear the speakers and to protest the administration's attempt at thought-control.

At this meeting, Wilkinson upbraided the administration, saying that Wayne was the only university from which they had been barred. Referring to an article in the *Daily Collegian*, stating he was a "writer for *Daily Worker*," Braden threatened to sue the paper for libel if an immediate retraction was not printed.

A similar situation occurred at Michigan State University when the Young Socialist Club invited

(Continued on Page 2)

Small Shareholders Fleeced In Stock Market 'Clean-out'

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, May 30 — This Memorial Day has turned into a day of mourning for "People's Capitalism," that new economic order proclaimed less than five years ago by G. Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange. "People's Capitalism" is defined as "broadened ownership of corporation stock."

Yesterday noon saw the bottom point — at least for the time being — of the spectacular dive of stock-market prices that began last December, accelerated in March and reached a dizzying speed on Monday, May 28. That day wiped out \$20,800,000,000 in stock values, the biggest single day's loss since 1929.

At the delayed close of the New York Stock Exchange yesterday the market had "rallied" and "re-couped" about 60 per cent of Monday's loss. But the total drop in values over the past six months has been more than \$100 billion.

Index Drops

By the end of the biggest sell-off day, Monday, the Dow Jones index of average industrial stock prices had registered a 158 point drop — from 734 to 576 — in six months. That is a 22 per cent slide. The sharp decline was climaxed by Monday's trading of 9,350,000 shares, sixth largest one-day turnover in stock-market history, and yesterday's 14,750,000 shares, surpassed only on "Black Tuesday," Oct. 29, 1929.

Stock brokers and Wall Street spokesmen attributed the stock-market break to "panic selling" and "loss of confidence" by the "small stockholders." They also put some blame on President Kennedy for his intervention against steel price rises in April.

However, as far back as April 20, Rich Thomas in the *New York Post* financial page noted that there had been a phenomenal increase in the number of shareholders in some of the big corporations just during the past year. He added, "The small investor, traditionally a laggard when it comes to speculation was jumping onto a slowing speculative bandwagon when many big investors were jumping off." Also, the big dive of the market was well on its way weeks before Kennedy's dispute with the steel industry.

Most of the losses of the "clean-out" were sustained by small stockholders, financial analyst John G. Forrest pointed out in the May 30 *New York Times*. "The little stockholder," said Forrest, "who bought for the rise and has now given up hope, at least for awhile, was thus the major loser in the shakeout . . ."

Ironically, as millions of these small shareholders were unload-

ing their stocks for a loss and pulling out of the market, Keith Funston was boasting on May 29 to the graduating class at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas, that the number of shareholders estimated by the New York Stock Exchange is now more than 15,000,000, compared to 12,500,000 in its 1959 census. But, as a business commentator in the May 29 *New York World-Telegram* observed,

"this new survey may be obsolete — even before its publication next month."

The Kennedy administration, according to the May 30 *New York Times*, has "decided that no special action by the Government was called for at this time." President Kennedy has decided to "use a calm approach." His key economic advisors claimed that there was

(Continued on Page 4)

Daniel Roberts Dies at 44; Was Editor of The Militant

By Murry Weiss

Daniel Roberts, a professional revolutionary, died May 24, 1962, in New York City, where he was born 44 years ago, Jan. 10, 1918.

Dan was one of the central leaders of the Socialist Workers Party as a member of its National Committee and Political Committee. He was managing editor and editor of *The Militant* from July 30, 1956, till March 1961 when he was forced to drastically limit his activities by the ravaging course of Hodgkin's disease, a form of cancer of the blood. Despite a losing battle with this illness, Dan wrote for the paper to the last period.

I asked Dan why he signed some of these recent articles, like the April 9, 1962, feature on "Hunger: A Cold War Weapon," with the pen name, Carl Goodman, instead of Roberts. I thought it would have heartened readers to know that he was writing again after a long pause. He explained that he didn't want to give false encouragement to his friends and comrades. He was realistic and responsible in all relations. In full awareness of his battle for life during these last months, Dan understood that matters stood in the balance and that no one should be misled by temporary ups or downs. That was his style. There is a great deal of his whole personality in this episode.

Dan fought to win for life, just as he fought to win in the battle for socialism, without illusions and in the full knowledge of the hazards. He believed that the struggle will decide all momentous questions. He never once, to my knowledge, indulged in maudlin reflections about the pitiless, unfair odds tearing down his body. Nor did he manifest a trace of pretentious unconcern for life and therefore for his own life; he was imbued with respect for life, responsible to the furthering of life, and productive in building



Daniel Roberts

for the realization of a socialist life. He hated everything about capitalism and its moral values because this social system had become destructive of life and mankind's future. For these reasons he was a revolutionist: he lived and died a revolutionist.

Possessed of socialist sympathies since early youth, Dan became an active socialist in 1941 during his senior year at the University of California at Los Angeles. He told me once, while discussing the new radical ferment among students in the North and South, that we should watch for signs of maturity of Marxist ideas particularly among students in their senior year and graduate students engaged in serious work. "These university years can be a crucial time for students who

(Continued on Page 3)

NLRB OKs Firings For Views on Cuba

A National Labor Relations Board trial examiner in Miami has made the outrageous ruling that an employer may fire workers solely because of their alleged political sympathies.

Louis Libbin, the NLRB examiner ruled on May 24 that the Allure Shoe Corporation of Miami was guilty of unfair labor practices in firing workers for union activity, and recommended that seven of 12 ousted workers be rehired. However, Libbin refused to recommend rehiring of the other five on the grounds that they were sympathetic to Fidel Castro's revolutionary Cuba.

The case on behalf of the 12 workers had been taken before the NLRB by Local 885 of the AFL-CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

Conceding that the Allure Shoe Corp. had a long record of illegal anti-union activity, the federal official nonetheless refused to order it to rehire the five workers on the grounds that they had been fired not only for union activity but also because Miami police had informed the employer that the five were pro-Castro.

Brown Gets Brushoff

L.A. Pickets Protest Killing of Muslim

LOS ANGELES — California governor Edmund G. Brown made his once-in-four-years hand-shaking campaign visit to the Negro community here May 26 but he had a hard time finding anyone willing to shake his hand. Starting his personal-appearance tour of Central Avenue in front of a supermarket he was confronted by pickets protesting the April 27 police shooting of seven unarmed members of the Black Muslim movement, one of whom — John T. Stokes — was shot dead.

The pickets — called out by the Citizens Committee Against Police Brutality — followed Brown as he walked down the street with his entourage of campaign managers and local politicians. The governor, much to his chagrin, found he had started a protest parade

which was joined by passers-by. Some of the placards carried by pickets read: "The Issue, Mr. Brown, Is Police Brutality, Not the Muslims." "Let's Not Have Another Monroe" and "Let's Park Parker." The Los Angeles chief of police is William Parker.

The governor and his aides finally boarded a chartered bus and drove a few miles to another supermarket, but the pickets showed up there too. The same scene was repeated in several places. One of the local Democratic Party candidates, a Negro, made an appeal from a sound truck for support to Brown, but a number of bystanders said the speaker had lost their votes because he was proving he was a phony.

A projected motorcade for Brown fell through and after

about three hours—and one hand-shake from a child—the discouraged governor left the area.

Six days before, 1,100 persons overflowed the Park Manor auditorium here at a police-brutality protest meeting sponsored jointly by the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Muslims and the Mexican-American Community Service Organization.

The audience roared its approval of demands by Muslim leader Malcolm X for a protest march on City Hall, and by CORE spokesman Danny Gray that Mayor Samuel Yorty either remove Police Chief Parker or face a recall petition for his own removal from office.

The week before, Yorty, Parker and L.A. County Sheriff Peter Pitchess, went to Washington, D.C.,

(Continued on Page 3)

... Students Resist Speaker Ban

Strikes in Spain Bring Rifts Within the Catholic Church

(Continued from Page 1)

Robert Thompson, lecturer for the Communist Party, to speak on "The Communist Party, Its Philosophy, Aims and Tactics in the U.S."

After maneuvering by President Hannah failed to persuade the Young Socialist Club to call the meeting off, he and the Board of Trustees canceled it. In a typical

double-think policy statement issued by them, both academic freedom and the barring of Communist speakers are defended. "Students need to be taught and to learn about communism, but they should get the facts from faculty members . . . who respect the obligation to tell the truth. The University . . . never will knowingly invite a Communist to

preach his treason on our campus." The administration's action was condemned by students and faculty. The Young Socialists received support from Student Government, the campus UN, the MSU chapter of the American Association of University Professors, the campus daily paper, the Young Democrats Club and the American Civil Liberties Union. Meeting facilities were offered by the Unitarian Church, the East Lansing City Council, and the Delta Sigma Phi fraternity.

Thompson spoke before 1,000 at an outdoor rally in the fraternity's back yard May 23. There were present those who came to yell, "Why don't you go back to Russia?" but the majority came to hear for themselves in defiance of the university administration's ruling.

The primary issue of university domination by the reactionary state legislature remained pretty much in the background of the controversy. However, it is obvious that university officials were much more concerned about appropriations, which come up this month, than about such democratic ideals as academic freedom.

The reaction in Lansing, the state capital, was emphatic. Resolutions were introduced in the legislature to define state policy in regard to the appearance of Communists at state-supported universities: "Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring) — That the Legislature does hereby find and declare that the appearance of Communists at state tax-supported colleges and universities does not advance the search for truth and is contrary to the public policy of the State of Michigan . . ."

Unions Shut Down Minneapolis Dailies

MINNEAPOLIS — For the first time in nearly 100 years this city is without a daily newspaper.

On Friday, April 13, Teamsters Local 638 struck *The Tribune* and *The Star*, the morning and afternoon papers of Minneapolis' monopoly press. Both are part of the Cowles publishing empire.

Now six weeks later there are three more unions out on the picket line with the Teamsters. They are Typographical Union Local 42, the Minneapolis-St. Paul Mailers Union Local 4 and the Stereotypers' Local 16.

Despite statements by the *Minneapolis Labor Review*, official organ of the Minneapolis Central Labor Council, that automation is not an issue in the strike, the men say that it is. The main issue, according to officials of the Stereotypers' Union, is the disposition of the stereotypers displaced by automation.

Officials of the Mailers' Union put it this way, "Job security, transfer of work by the publishers to non-union drivers, agency managers and carrier boys, pensions and hospitalization . . ." are the main issues.

A short distance from the *Star* and *Tribune's* modern plant is an old building on the second floor of which is the strike headquarters. On the bulletin board there is the following statement: "The Employer has refused to consider our proposals which we feel must be incorporated in any new contract if our members are to preserve any sort of job security in years to come."

The strike looks as if it will continue to be a long and hard one. Secretary of Labor Goldberg has been called into the negotiations to pressure for a sweetheart settlement. Nevertheless there is a real chance that the strikers can win, if only to a limited extent, over the employers and Goldberg. Certainly large sections of the Minneapolis workers are with them and the strike is solid.

aid were being sent from many countries to the Spanish strikers and to the exile movements in France. The Finnish Seaman's union voted to refuse pilot service to Spanish ships; Polish dockworkers would not load two coal ships headed for Barcelona and Polish miners declared against any coal they dug going to Spain; Italian labor federations likewise declared solidarity with the Spanish strikers; the Israeli General Federation of Labor voted financial assistance to be sent and in the U.S. the United Auto Workers announced a contribution of \$10,000.

In the face of the continuing strike wave and the beginning of international solidarity actions, Dictator Franco on May 27 made his first public speech since his strike troubles began. Appearing before a meeting of fascist veterans of the civil war, he made an address, televised to the whole nation, blaming "liberals and communists" for the strikes. He classified support for the strikers in some church circles as the effect of foreign agitation on a few "Basque separatists" and the "clerical errors of some other exalted priests," assuring his listeners that "relations between church and state are in perfect harmony because both know who their common foe is."

Barcelona, the major industrial city, became a focal point of attention. At the university some 90 students were detained by police for distributing "subversive propaganda." A thousand workers rallied outside the archbishop's palace asking church support. One hundred were permitted to enter the courtyard where the archbishop urged them to be calm and promised solutions to their problems.

A May 25 *Associated Press* dispatch reported Barcelona as far from calm, with 17,000 workers from several plants on strike and local police conferring with the military on methods of handling the situation.

Leaflets distributed in Bilbao called for a boycott of newspapers, cafes and movie houses and, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, this appeal was "largely followed."

Solidarity messages and actions as well as promises of financial

aid were being sent from many countries to the Spanish strikers and to the exile movements in France. The Finnish Seaman's union voted to refuse pilot service to Spanish ships; Polish dockworkers would not load two coal ships headed for Barcelona and Polish miners declared against any coal they dug going to Spain; Italian labor federations likewise declared solidarity with the Spanish strikers; the Israeli General Federation of Labor voted financial assistance to be sent and in the U.S. the United Auto Workers announced a contribution of \$10,000.

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Francisco made no reference to promised wage increases, declared the door to liberalism in Spain had been "permanently shut," and that the strikes were a "natural consequence of the growth and vitality of the nation." Then in a rapid switch he labeled demands for higher wages as "impossible dreams" not in line with the rise in productivity.

This might mean that strikers who have already returned to work on the basis of rumors and promises of wage increases will walk out again, swelling the strike movement.

Our Editor on Tour

Hansen Meets a 'Machiavellian'

PHILADELPHIA — Joseph Hansen's tour visit here began with a meeting at the Militant Labor Forum, where *The Militant's* editor described the wretched conditions that "make Latin America explosive." He also told about the tremendous impact of the Cuban Revolution in these lands.

During the question-and-answer period, an Afro-American declared she felt that the socialists in the United States were not doing everything they could in the struggle for equality. Hansen responded by suggesting that the struggle for equality and the struggle for socialism are interrelated and that it would be well to combine forces in every way possible. He emphasized the great interest Latin Americans have in the Freedom Riders, in lunch-counter demonstrations, the battle for school desegregation and similar issues. He said that the Latin Americans believe that the colored people in the U.S. must feel similar sympathy for the struggles going on below the Rio Grande for a better world.

Before a Fair Play for Cuba Committee audience, Hansen spoke on how Latin Americans look at Cuba. He contrasted the spirit and hope generated by the Cuban Revolution to the distrust and lack of faith displayed toward the "Alliance for Progress," the Democratic-Republican answer to the challenge of the Cuban Revolution.

At Bryn Mawr College Hansen spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Alliance for Political Affairs. The audience was quite interested in the Trotskyist attitude toward Cuba and the problems of the Latin-American countries.

On the Red Benson radio show, Hansen shared the spotlight with William Ravidin of the American Friends Service Committee, who has worked and lived in Cuba, and Dr. Henry Bergna, an Ar-

gentine chemist now working in this country, who favor U.S. policy toward Cuba. Hansen defended the Cuban Revolution against their positions.

At Temple University Hansen opposed a member of the Debating Society on "What Should Be United States Policy Toward Cuba." The student, who avowed himself to be a "Machiavellian," held that the U.S. government should use military force to get rid of "the Communist dictatorship in Cuba" because "the Communist government in Cuba is a direct threat to the security of the United States."

When Hansen ridiculed the idea that Cuba is a military threat and argued for a policy of peace and resumption of diplomatic and economic relations, the "Machiavellian" argued all the stronger for war. He was also against foreign aid to other countries, maintaining that other peoples have no respect for a country that does not handle them with force.

World of Cockroaches?

Hansen called this type of thinking very dangerous, whose logic would be to plunge the U.S. into an atomic war. The views expressed by the "Machiavellian," he said, were an example of what Albert Einstein, who believed in socialism, had called attention to in his last years — growing contempt for human values, depreciation of one's fellow human beings, indifference to mass slaughter as if it involved a world of cockroaches. This moral degeneration had reminded the great scientist of the atmosphere in Germany when Hitler drove toward power.

The "Machiavellian" responded by attacking Einstein for meddling in a subject outside his field. Einstein, in his opinion, was all right in mathematics but knew nothing about economics and politics where "sentimentality" could only play into the hands of "the enemy"; namely, "Communist conspirators."

Finally, attempting sarcasm at Hansen's championing the cause of the poor and the underprivileged, he said, "What do you want me to do, get out a violin and play sob stuff?"

"Why not?" responded Hansen. "Nero did."

The burst of laughter disconcerted the "Machiavellian" and he did not try any more exchanges of this kind.

Hansen's final engagement in the Philadelphia area was under the auspices of the Young Peoples Socialist League at Swarthmore College where he debated Carlos Luis, a Cuban socialist who came to the United States about four months ago. Luis, a former member of the July 26 Movement, said he was for the Cuban Revolution but against Castro. He felt that Cuba has succumbed to Stalinism and that Castro must be obedient to the Communist Party because of the economic aid Cuba is getting from the Soviet Union.

Hansen held that this view was faulty because it left out two main considerations: the counter-revolutionary policy of the U.S. government which was the main problem facing the Cubans, and the independent outlook which the Cuban revolutionists had repeatedly displayed and which ran counter to any tendency toward Stalinism.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Cuba's Socialist Revolution — A Marxist analysis of recent events. Speaker, **Isadore Warwak** of the Socialist Workers Party, Fri., June 8, 8 p.m. Militant Labor Forum Hall, 302 S. Canal, Hall 210. Admission free. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

How Much Does Your Vote Count? — A discussion of reapportionment. Speaker, **Charles Lockwood**, prominent civil liberties attorney. Fri., June 8, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Cuba Libre Get-Together. Sat., June 2, 9 p.m. Upshure Studio, 647 Broadway (near Houston). Refreshments, Dancing, Live Entertainment, Surprise Guest. Contrib. 99c (students 50c). Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

CUBA — TODAY AND TOMORROW, as viewed by **Gerald Quinn**, Exec. Sec., Monroe Defense Committee, who has just returned from Cuba. Mon., June 4, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c). Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The Strike Wave in Fascist Spain — Speaker, **Hedda Grant**. Fri., June 8, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Contribution 50c.

8-Page Militant Fund

It's What's Under the Wig that Counts

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

The May 29 issue of the *New York Times* carries a full-page advertisement for *McCall's* magazine. It shows a blown-up picture of a pretty young woman, "A McCall's Reader," who says: "I want all the facts . . . Maybe I won't ever wear a wig but if wigs are becoming fashionable, I'd like to be told now. I want to be able to talk about things that really count these days."

That's what *Militant* readers want, too — "to be able to talk about things that really count these days." But our readers are not interested, I'm sure, in wigs! In fact, if what I understand about the price of wigs is true, few *Militant* readers can afford to be interested in them.

But *Militant* readers are interested in why U.S. troops have been landed in Thailand; what is going on in Fascist Spain and Portugal; why the extreme right wing is allowed to ride high while the left wing is being witch-hunted; what the King-Anderson bill will accomplish for social security recipients — and what it won't cover; what is the real significance of the stock-market crash and how it will affect everyone. These are but a few of the "things that really count these days" that *Militant* readers want to know about.

With only four small pages, *The Militant* has great difficulty in even touching on the important events every week. That is why we have decided it is time to expand. That is why we are aiming at a minimum of \$21,000. That is why *your* contribution is so im-

portant, no matter what its size. Now is the time!

We wish to thank most sincerely the following individuals who sent in contributions this week: M.W.S. of North Bend, Ore.; W.B., the young man from the Deep South who has become a one-man campaigner for this fund, who sent in \$5 collected the hard way — in dimes and quarters; T.H., who asked that his \$5 be credited to the Philadelphia quota; and C.P.S., who sent \$7 to put Pittsburgh "over the top."

There are just two weeks left in the 8-Page Militant Fund Campaign. Send your contribution to 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

See scoreboard on page 3.

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: **The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.**

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THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except for omission of five summer issues, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 26 - No. 23

345

Monday, June 4, 1962

End the Ban on Facts

The propaganda about Cuba peddled by commentators who get their "facts" precooked from the State Department and Miami counter-revolutionaries is not far from Hitler's criterion that "the bigger the lie, the easier people believe it."

For example, we have been told that Castro is "only a figure-head"; that "the Communists have marked Castro for death"; that he has taken refuge "in a foreign embassy"; etc., etc. In the same vein, we have been told that "economic chaos" has hit Cuba; that rationing portends "a complete breakdown"; that "great unrest" exists among the people; etc., etc.

Genuine experts — even those in opposition to the Castro government — deplore this webwork of lies. For instance, Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic American Lusobrazilian Studies at Stanford University, wrote in the March issue of *Hispanic American Report*:

"Our press constantly harps on the fact that Cuba is only 90 miles from our shores, but it makes no serious attempt to find out what is going on there. Most of the stories about Cuba are picked up from refugees in Miami, and the occasional news which comes directly from Cuba is clearly written in order to denigrate rather than to inform. One conservative weekly recently carried a story on Cuba which, as proof of the evils of Communism, reported that under Russian influence chess is beginning to displace baseball as a popular pastime in Cuba. If the children's game of rounders, rocketed by commercialism into orbit as baseball, is the symbol of 'Americanism,' and chess is the sporting manifestation of Communism, we might as well give up. We are obviously outclassed."

The *Hispanic American Report*, which is one of the few sources of dependable facts about Latin America (it was this magazine that first reported U.S. preparations in Central America for the invasion of Cuba), has had its own rather illuminating experience with the State Department. Mr. Hilton continues:

"American newsmen are not allowed into Red China, and we therefore rely on the reports of such men as Britisher Felix Greene for factual accounts on the colossus of the East. American newspapermen are allowed by the U.S. Government to go to Cuba, but the Department of State is not exactly encouraging. Feeling the desperate need for accurate, factual, objective information about Cuba, the *Hispanic American Report* wanted to send a representative to Cuba for a short visit. The State Department vetoed the idea. The Deputy Director of the Passport Office explained that the *Hispanic American Report* was not 'a bona fide news media' [sic]. When we protested that his statement was contrary to the facts and to grammar, he explained that he realized that the *Hispanic American Report* was a 'bona fide news media' (let us overlook a little obtuseness on grammatical matters), but that the trouble was we were not paid. Unfortunately, this is true. The remedy is obviously to send Hedda Hopper to Cuba; that would teach the Cubans to appreciate high-paid journalists."

The director of this fact-seeking magazine asks a pertinent question: "How is it that practically no American newspaper, not even the great *New York Times*, has a correspondent in Cuba?"

Mr. Hilton argues for a change in policy: "We have correspondents risking their lives in Algiers and Oran, and we are well informed about what is going on there. Yet we do not know what is going on in Cuba. The basic rule of intelligence is to know your enemy; and, assuming that Castro is our enemy, we ought to know him. If it is the Cuban Government which is creating difficulties, the State Department should urge American journalists to go to Cuba in order to show that the Castro regime is entirely responsible for our misunderstandings. As far as we can tell, this is not the explanation, although the *New York Times* has repeatedly but unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a Cuban visa for a correspondent. It seems at the same time that the American press is not interested in objective reporting from Cuba, even though such reporting might well imply the condemnation of the Castro regime which our power elite so fervently desires."

We, of course, disagree completely with the assumption that "Castro is our enemy" and the implication that the Cuban Revolution should be condemned by the American people. The condemnation so fervently desired by "our power elite" is due simply to rage over expropriation of their holdings and the ending of the capitalist system in Cuba.

We do, however, agree that the American people are entitled to better reporting. We go further. We think that the ban on travel to Cuba should be ended forthwith.

Why should college students, for example, have to rely on the opinions of any reporter — no matter how "objective"? Why shouldn't they be free to make their own on-the-spot studies?

In brief, we urge everyone who feels concern for the truth and for better relations with Cuba to speak up emphatically. Americans are entitled to do their own seeing and thinking. End the ban on facts from Cuba! End the ban on travel to Cuba!

... Daniel Roberts Dies at 44

(Continued from Page 1)

tend to make far-reaching decisions about their basic view toward life; I expect many will become socialists at such a time," he said.

Dan shaped his radical views primarily by revulsion to the prospect of capitalist war. He found, however, that the passive, individual, moral rejection of war was inadequate and ineffective as an answer to the threat of mankind being overwhelmed by endless slaughters and mutual destruction. In this way he turned toward the Marxist view. He joined the Socialist Party in 1941 and devoted his major interest to achieving the correct socialist policy in the struggle against imperialist war. He read deeply in Marx and then Lenin; he thought and acted with care and respect for experience in past struggles; he came, through inner striving for clear views, to the formulation of his own resolution on the war question, submitted this to the

Socialist Party in 1942 and sharply divided from the SP leadership.

It was the necessity of Dan's personality to act, as if by an internal compulsion, to follow the path of truth as he saw it — no matter where it would lead. He never could believe that the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war could be served by direct or indirect support of the U.S. State Department. Thus he separated with Norman Thomas' majority in the Socialist Party and in this process became a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Concern for Theory

Dan's concern with the war question was equaled by his interest in the important theoretical question of the nature of the 1917 October Russian Revolution and the character of the state that had issued from this socialist revolution. His closeness to the SWP's Leninist position on imperialism war led him at once to study the great 1940 dispute in the Trotskyist movement on the "Russian Question." The Shachtman minority in the SWP had then held the view that the Soviet Union was no longer a workers' state and should not be defended in the struggle with imperialism. The majority view had held that the Soviet Union, despite its Stalinist bureaucratic deformations and crimes against workers' democracy, remained a workers' state on the nationalized and planned economic foundations created by the October Revolution and should therefore be unconditionally defended in the struggle against imperialism.

Dan had to plumb the nature of this question and determine his own view to his satisfaction; he read all through the basic works of Trotsky and became thoroughly familiar with all the opposing views within the Trotskyist movement. Dan was serious about all fundamental ideas and it was through this ideological process that he became a Trotskyist for the duration of his revolutionary activity.

Organizer

Dan began by acting as an organizer for the Los Angeles SWP local; he was assigned to Seattle in 1945 where he became the organizer of the branch and ran for electoral office on a number of occasions. At one time he worked in the lumber industry and was a member of the union. The insight he gained by this first-hand knowledge of the working class in the class struggle and trade-union movement was invaluable to him. Like all professional revolutionists, he was essentially an all-around man who could operate in the various crafts of the movement: as an organizer, as a mass worker, as a candidate in electoral campaigns, as a speaker, teacher and writer. That is the way it was.

In the year 1954 the exigencies

of party work led Dan to Newark where he was SWP branch organizer and where on numerous occasions he was the SWP candidate in election campaigns. At about the same time he became a member of *The Militant* staff and, like many of us, went through a rigorous training under the skilled, veteran, editorial team of George Breitman, John G. Wright, Joe Hansen and Art Preis.

In 1951 Dan spent six months of full-time study at the Trotsky School where he made an intensive study of Marx's *Capital* and a study of the First American Revolution. This was a gratifying experience for him and those who were privileged to work at that session. All of us, theretofore completely absorbed with party activity and with little time for study, were relieved from all party and personal pressures and given the fullest opportunity for broader and deeper study. This was the way it was with Dan and all of us in these and other experiences of the same type. This was the way it was and this was the process that led Dan to the center of the party and to the exacting and pressing work on *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*.

Last Article

Two days before he succumbed, I went to see Dan about his last article for the magazine, for it is the simple truth that he labored over a full-length article during these trying last months. He wanted it that way. The article he was working on dealt with the economic roots of the fateful Moscow-Peking struggle and the program of workers' democracy. He had all but finished the main body of this article when he let me know, in his gentle but insistent way, that I had better take the article and finish the last section. He gave me the last section in outline form and discussed editorial points that should be watched: facts that should be checked, translations from Russian sources that should be rechecked, care to catch any overstatements or exaggerations or loose formulations. It was a matter-of-fact discussion without sentimentality.

We ended, as we had started, by working together. And that is the way it was; that is the way his article will be published in the magazine: work in progress.

Daniel Roberts is survived by Lillian Roberts, his comrade, his wife, and his companion, who worked on *The Militant* staff for years; his daughter, Nora Roberts, 20, an editor of the *Young Socialist*; his sisters Eva and Sonia; he is mourned by all his friends and his comrades of the Socialist Workers Party.

... Killing of Muslim

(Continued from Page 1)

at taxpayers' expense to request Attorney General Robert Kennedy to investigate the Muslim movement. Yorty has suggested putting the Muslim group on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. He says the movement has 400 members in the area, according to records seized by police in the L.A. Muslim temple. The temple was looted by police in the aftermath of the shooting.

The May 17 issue of the *California Eagle*, a major Negro weekly here, front-paged an account of how Yorty, running for mayor a year ago, pledged to end police brutality and either to curb or fire Parker. The story points out that today Yorty says the brutality charges made by the NAACP are "wild and exaggerated," backs Parker on the anti-Muslim shooting spree, and says there "is no doubt" in his mind about the correctness of Parker's attitude toward minorities.

But, after all, now Yorty is in office.

... 35-Hour Week

(Continued from Page 1)

reported by the Jan. 21 *New York Times* to be "unhappy" about the settlement. They viewed it as "an embarrassment to the labor movement," because of President Kennedy's declared opposition to the shorter work week.

Meany's latest statement is true to this pattern. It was made where it would have the least effect on profits — before the ILGWU, a union in an industry where the basic 35-hour week has been widely established for years. Meany made no such speech, it should be noted, to the Steelworkers during their recent contract negotiations, nor to the United Auto Workers at their recent convention, nor to the other major unions with a basic 40-hour week.

Same Pattern

The statement by Amalgamated Clothing Workers President Jacob S. Potofsky May 14 that his union would seek the 35-hour week for its 400,000 members in the men's and boys' clothing industry falls into the same category as Meany's speech to the ILGWU. The men's clothing industry already operates on a basic week of around 37½ hours, and the gradual achievement of the 35-hour base is already an established pattern. In addition clothing workers are largely piece-rate workers, so that a shorter work week tends to have less effect on actual hourly pay than it does for time-rate workers.

Nevertheless, the fact that these highly placed union officials feel the need to make speeches on the shorter work week, shows the mounting pressure, and the speeches in turn, raise the consciousness of the rank and file around this sound, practical demand.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	\$ 20	\$ 20	100
San Francisco	720	614	87
St. Louis	100	85	85
Detroit	800	666	83
Milwaukee	320	251	78
Boston	750	584	78
Connecticut	200	147	73
New York	5,700	4,089	72
Twin Cities	1,500	1,065	71
Berkeley-Oakland	635	456	71
Newark	190	132	69
Chicago	1,000	650	65
Allentown	155	92	59
General	530	283	53
San Diego	360	180	50
Seattle	600	255	43
Los Angeles	6,300	2,667	42
Philadelphia	320	127	40
Denver	200	70	35
Cleveland	600	125	21
Totals through May 28	\$21,000	\$12,588	60

BOOK REVIEW

In Defense of Adolescents

THE VANISHING ADOLESCENT. By Edgar Z. Friedenberg. Introduction by David Riesman. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1962. 223 pp. 50c.

A team of doctors concluded, in a recent study of residents of midtown Manhattan, that 80 per cent of the people interviewed — four out of five — were not in that blessed state called "emotional health" and could benefit from psychological help. *The Vanishing Adolescent* (which, contrary to what its title suggests, is not a mystery story) helps to show why this is the case. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, who teaches social science and education at Brooklyn College, investigates in a searching and original way the conflicts between the individual and society in the crucial period of life known as adolescence.

Adolescence is defined by the author, not merely as a stage in the physical growth of the individual, but as primarily a social process. Inherent in adolescence is a conflict between the individual and society: the main task of the adolescent is "self-identification" — the process of finding out who one really is, in relation to others and to society. To do this successfully requires clarity of thought, honesty, courage — the courage to be an individual. Society, in twentieth century America, is inimical to such qualities. Clarity of thought, the sharp, precise confrontation of ideas, is discouraged; individual differences which should be encouraged are frowned upon; "The Team" reigns supreme; the most lofty aspiration a young person can have these days is — to be exactly like everyone else.

The way in which society acts upon individuals is compared by Friedenberg to a blending machine, into which ingredients are put, each of which has its distinctive texture and taste, and it all comes out a mush. In short: our society is making it increasingly harder for adolescents to accomplish their main task of self-definition. Consequently, Friedenberg claims, fewer people are now going through adolescence; they merely "undergo puberty and simulate maturity." This is the basis, in the author's opinion, for all the hullabaloo about the Lost, Silent, Beat, Apathetic, Rebel-Without-a-Cause generation.

The high school, as the social institution most directly related to adolescents, is examined critically: in the conflict between the needs of the adolescent and society's demands for conformity, smoothness, and mediocrity, the school is lined up unequivocally on the wrong side. A concrete manifestation of this is the way in which schools keep dossiers on the personal and political lives of the

students, using information gained in confidence from teachers and guidance counselors for the benefit of the FBI, the CIC, etc. Mr. Friedenberg is heartwarming in his denouncing such practices.

One of the most interesting, if necessarily somewhat speculative, aspects of the book is the treatment of the adult reaction to adolescents. Here a great deal is drawn from psychoanalytic theory. Most adults who deal professionally with adolescents, according to Friedenberg, not only do not like and respect adolescents, but hate and fear them, though this hostility must be concealed under a cloak of benevolent protectiveness.

The explanation for this hostility is complex, partly relating to the unconscious desires of the adults, partly because the adults are not sure of their own authority. The fact is, Friedenberg asserts, that "the adult empire is tottering. All empires are." In the nineteenth century educators functioned in a harsh, authoritarian way. Now, the whip has given way to behind-the-scenes manipulation of human beings. The majority of teachers today fear this loss of authority; such anxiety easily makes itself known to students and is taken advantage of by them.

From a socialist point of view, the book's main weakness is that while its criticism of society is very explicit, very sharp, and very true, the reasons why society is this way, and therefore the indicated solution to the problem, are not even vaguely hinted at. The question of what kind of a society would be consonant with the psy-

chological needs of the individual is not raised. True, Friedenberg suggests a few remedies in a couple of paragraphs at the end of the book; but no attempt is made to convince the reader of their practicability, and even David Riesman in his introduction admits that they are not likely to be attained.

Furthermore, while at one point the process of the adolescent relating himself as an individual to society is referred to as a "dialectical" one, one whole side of what in reality is a dialectical interaction is ignored. The whole emphasis of the book is on how society acts upon the individual; no consideration is given to the action of the individual upon society. This is unfortunate because such action — the action of individuals together with other individuals, joined in an organization to change society — is, for many adolescents, the solution to the very problems which the author describes.

These reservations, however, do not impair the value of the book. Its scope, depth, and richness — drawing as it does from work in psychology, sociology and education — are impossible to convey in a brief review. It is decidedly not typical of most academic studies of recent years whose tendency has been, in a futile quest for absolute statistically verifiable certainty, to narrow the scope of the investigation to the point where the conclusions reached, if any, are of no import.

The most important thing about the book, however, is that here at last is a book about adolescents which is unequivocally on their side.

By Martha Curti

... Stock Market 'Clean-out'

(Continued from Page 1)

no economic basis for the stock-market plunge.

That was the day after the American Iron and Steel Institute reported national steel production had fallen for the eighth successive week to a low of 56.5 per cent of capacity.

Unemployment has been hovering during most of Kennedy's administration at between four and five millions, not counting several millions on part-time who seek full-time work. But these administration jobless figures must be regarded as a considerable understatement of the true situation.

The *New York Times* — not on the front page but as a tiny item inside a column of "Random Notes in Washington" — last April 16 casually noted that "the other day," Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Eco-

nomics Advisors, "was saying that unemployment is even more serious than the statistics show because a good deal of it does not get measured."

Leading metropolitan newspapers, from the *New York Times* to the *New York World-Telegram*, have assured the people that the stockmarket crisis does not signal another "1929" because, since then, this country has acquired "built-in stabilizers." They mean things like unemployment insurance. But the big "built-in stabilizer" has been government armaments spending, risen from an annual average under Truman in 1946-1950 of less than 14 billion dollars to 40 billions under Eisenhower and now 52 billions under Kennedy. The stock market paroxysms are one indication that even this "ultimate stabilizer" is no longer able to keep chaotic capitalism on an even keel.

It Was Reported in the Press

The Market in Perspective — The *New Yorker* magazine reports receiving a letter from Baxter International Economic Research Bureau which declares: "Barring war, we look for the most serious bear market in commodities and stocks this country has ever seen. And don't forget, even if there is war, it is widely believed it will have to be a short one."

Logical Twist? — "I had heard many stories about the twist. Someone even said it was a typical product of capitalist society. I do not understand how dances can be divided into capitalist and socialist." — Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko.

On the Vietnam Front — The U.S. Embassy in South Vietnam has asked the mayor of Saigon to rule on whether or not it may continue its regular Saturday afternoon square dances. Article 4 of

a new "Protection of Morality Law" signed by dictator Diem bans all social dancing as "erotic, vain and degrading." In the event of an unfavorable ruling, top U.S. policy-makers are considering invoking diplomatic immunity. But this would require exclusion of Vietnamese citizens from the festivities.

Just Like Congress — The British House of Lords voted down a bill May 15 to outlaw discrimination on grounds of race, color or religion. Many peers said they sympathized with the aims of the bill but felt that such ideals could not be realized through legislation.

Confirmation — Brooks Atkinson, former drama critic and now occasional columnist for the *New York Times* offered this observation May 25: "The 1962 Pulitzer Prize has been given to a musical

rewrite of a worthless tale about 'How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying.' By winning the prize, the show has confirmed the validity of its thesis."

Shopping Tip for New Yorkers — The "21" Club is now offering take-out service on its Crème Ségalaïse, a chilled soup for those humid days. Orders should be placed several hours in advance and messengers are asked to pick up the soup at the steward's entrance, not the main one. Only \$4 a pint, but we don't know if this includes deposit on the container.

True Loyalty — According to Madison Avenue intelligence, David Ogilvy, chairman of the advertising firm of Ogilvy, Benson and Mather, does not intend to trade in his Rolls Royce even though his firm lost the U.S. advertising franchise for the car.

Letters From Our Readers

That Waldorf 'Turtle' Soup

Oakland, Calif.

As a former Waldorf-Astoria employee, I know how the Hilton corporation, which runs the Waldorf now, has rationalized the hotel industry to its highest tolerable pitch. Louis Blanc, representative of the old grand line of chefs — men who were tyrants and kings of the kitchen but who also were at all times at odds with the management — left the Waldorf. Hilton replaced such men with graduates of the school of cost and quality control — men who could be trusted by management to carry out the interests of management and forget about the help.

Not only the help, but the customers, who are not what they used to be. A case in point is the Waldorf's specialty, *Consommé de Tortue*, otherwise known as turtle soup. Escoffier, the world renowned Chef de Cuisine, and the creator of "Tortue," made a specific point in his recipe of describing how to prepare it. Where he emphasizes the "green fat of the carapace" Hilton passes you the green vegetable coloring bottle. Where he speaks of the "plastron" or outside bony framework of the turtle, which constitutes the only portions from which the gelatinous flesh, used as the important garnish of the soup, is obtained, Hilton passes you deep fried small cubed pieces of bread which are called *Croustons de Tortue*.

The all-important "base" for the soup comes out of a can or a bottle and the water tap. Working at an assembly-line fashion that would put that arch opponent of "fancy gourmets," Henry Ford, to shame, Hilton Waldorf dishes up thousands of bowls of turtle soup to a glib and somewhat idiotic public that, in more ways than one, eats the stuff up.

It's become an inhuman culinary factory, devoid of art and satisfaction, and the conditions of the dishwashers are intolerable.

G. P.

Wage Swindle

Baltimore, Md.

The large department stores here have found a very legal way to keep wages down. The federal minimum wage is \$1.15 an hour "for full time employees." There's the rub. The department stores arrange it so that their employees work 38½ hours a week. This means they are not "full time" employees and don't have to be paid the minimum.

A. Robert Kaufman

Conditions in Houston

Houston, Texas

Thought I was out of a job last week but it seems like I still have one because the boss couldn't find some one to work for less money. I make \$1.50 an hour for a nine-hour day, six-day week. That's cheap labor but jobs are hard as anything to get here. There are hundreds of people out of work and many going hungry, so it's not a pretty picture.

I am hoping and working so that someday people here in the South will wake up to the problems that face us and pitch in and work, also so that we won't have to look upon people without jobs and worrying about where their next meal is coming from and seeing kids running around without any shoes because they don't have any to wear.

Some of our relatives collect things from peoples' garbage cans and the things that are piled up beside the cans for the garbage

man to take. They make their living by fixing these things and selling them in a swap shop. There are hundreds of these swap shops in the city. The most unusual thing about it is that we were helping these relatives until we stated our position on the Negro problem. That done it up for good as far as they were concerned. They said they'd rather starve. So you can see how hate dominates these people here in the South.

Keep up the good work that you are doing because some day people down here will realize that you and others like you spent your whole life in seeing that the truth is printed.

W. B.

Facts on U. S. "Democracy"

Cleveland, Ohio

In the capitalist nations, or so-called "free world," the bourgeoisie, who are masters of all the country's wealth, subordinate the non-propertied classes and deprive them of many economic rights. Equality and democracy exist only as words in much publicized declarations.

Actually no equality exists. How can we draw the sign of equality between the capitalist, who owns the factory, and the worker who owns no part of it and has to work for the capitalist?

The domination of the ruling class in the so-called free world can be clearly seen in the very composition of the organs of power. Take the U.S. Congress, for instance. Out of 531 members, more than half are lawyers and one quarter are bankers and businessmen. There's not one single worker or rank-and-file farmer. That is why Congress pursues a policy that is not in the interests of the American people.

In keeping with the will of this "democratic" organ, 78 per cent of the budget was earmarked for war preparations in 1961. Where does this stupendous sum needed for military expenditures come from? The greater part of the budget, 54 per cent, is to come from taxes paid by the population, while the corporation tax only amounts to 23 per cent.

President Kennedy said that the increase in war preparations has been attained by reducing certain civilian measures. This comes at a time when the country is 100,000 classrooms short and about two million boys and girls cannot study under normal conditions. This makes it clear whose interests the "free world" expresses and to whom it gives real freedom.

The essence of "free-world democracy" was aptly described by Dr. Fidel Castro who said that anyone in the U.S. was free to own a newspaper with a two-million circulation if he has two million dollars in his pocket.

G. C.

Ray of Sunshine

Seattle, Wash.

I am trying to live on a small pension and don't have the money I would like to buy good reading matter with. Am enclosing a token offering. My subscription is paid for the year.

The bells on the fair grounds are ringing. (They are near me.) The sun is bright after the rain. If our outlook could be as bright for the years ahead, I would be happy.

I hope the folks who have money will donate to help bring the facts to us. I wish you prosperity.

E. H.

Thought for the Week

"There was considerable pressure on the president to go on the air tonight to discuss the stock market, but what would he say? He could say that Wall Street was selling stocks but that Main Street was still buying goods. He could say that the basis of the economy is fundamentally sound and that prosperity was just around the corner. But that's what President Hoover said in 1929, and after reflecting on that, he went off to his birthday party in the Blue Ridge foothills." — James Reston in a May 29 Washington report to the *New York Times*.